

Excerpt from "China's Destiny"

By Chiang Kai-shek

Translated by HATANO, Kanichi

(Published by NIHON HYORONSHA Co.,  
February 20, 1946.)

I (From the 1st line of p. 89 to 1st the line of p. 92.)

On 7, July, 1937, Japan under the pretext of manoeuvres, occupied Lukoukiao, captured Wanping-hsien, and attempted to place Peiping under its complete command by cutting off communications between the south and the north. We knew that the development of this incident was of concern not only to the problem of China's existence, but also to the good or evil of mankind in the world, that peace could not easily be sought in view of Japan's intentions and speculation, and that China was at her crossroads. Now that the crossroads is us, we cannot compromise on the way. For, the condition of compromise on the way is the condition of wholesale surrender and all-out destruction. We have only the way of sacrifice as well as resisting to the last. The final victory can only be won by the resolution of sacrifice. China is a weak nation, but we must keep our racial life as well as hear the historical duty hequeathed by our ancestors. That is why we established firmly the national policy of all-out resistance.

There are no few precedents of racial war in Chinese history. But, there is no parallel in 5,000 years to the resistance of this time in respect to its large scale, great sacrifice, difficult work, and serious relations. Especially, is the nature of the resistance different from any racial war in any era in history. We must understand not only that the present resistance is a step which brings inevitably national revolution, but also that the national revolution must be a success following the victory of the resistance,

as well as racial emancipation and that national establishment be achieved. Consequently, in the first part of the resistance the National Party and the National Government set up firmly a side-by-side policy of resistance and national establishment, and fixed the articles in the "Program of National Establishment by Resistance." This program, which passed the extraordinary general meeting of the national representatives of the National Party, and was received by the National Council, has four points of significance. In the field of international diplomacy, it aims to co-strive in alliance with the anti-aggressive nations of the world, based on the spirit of independence and autonomy; exterminate imperialistic aggression and thus make the world a world of peace and where mankind may co-exist together. In the field of home politics, to prepare the enforcement of constitutional administration, based upon local self-government; set up a national council organ before its enforcement; unite and combine the national power; concentrate the national will; and thus benefit from the promotion of national policies. In the circle of national economy, to carry out the planned economy, unify and make common development of national defense and civil life; and reform China into a strong racial defense structure. And in the field of culture and thought, to exalt proper morals; elevate scientific knowledge; relieve the temper of decadence into sincerity; and develop the civil intellect and have it run to precision. By these, it can probably understood that the Program is the crystal of the three Peoples Principle and the tactics of national revolution. So although the situation in and out has changed within these five years the articles of the Program has suffered no alteration. If the nation carries them out and abides by them in one accord the victory of resistance and success in the establishment of the nation will will surely be attained without fail.

Since July 7, public feeling has been encouraged, among both the upper and lower classes of the entire nation, under the immutable national policy, and the will of the people has been concentrated. None of the social customs and political disposition have not been renovated. Where its effect ranged, the anti-war advocates either concealed themselves, or presented bluntly the features of a traitor and were abandoned by the people. Meanwhile, the war advocates, too, lost room for discussion. Racial spirit as well as the racial consciousness were exalted. The greatest development ever seen has been shown in military administration and military regulations. The carrying out of central ordinances and the planning of local administration alike have gradually obtained active results. Furthermore, it has made long strides in the planning of production as well as the socialization of enterprises, and the establishment of the democratic economy is now possible. The split in thought and the divergence of opinion disappeared in the recognition of "Nation the Supreme, Race the Supreme." At the beginning of the resistance, all the corporations and factions at home declared that they should guard the government in a united body. The Chinese Communist Party also stated the approval of the following four articles. "We will strive for the realization of the three Peoples Principle; cancel the disturbance policy and red activities and suspend the policy of confiscating the land of the landlords by force. Reject the Soviet Government, and aim at the unity of the whole nation. Cancel the name and number of the red army, reorganizing it into the national revolutionary army, come under the control of the military commission of the National Government, await orders, and take charge of the duty of the resistance front." Against this, I announced the following; "the objective of the national revolution lies in seeking the freedom and equity of China." The other day, the Premier explained the Three People Principle as the principle of saving the nation, and hoped that entire nation would unite and endeavor in order to relieve the nation.

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As soon as the HIRANUMA Cabinet was formed in January, 1939, Germany proposed to conclude the Tri-partite military alliance, based on the Anti-commintern Agreement. Japan, however, lost the leading position checked by China's resistance, wasting days in vain until fall. Hitler changed his plan, and concluded a non-invasion pact with the Soviet. Then the European War broke out. The HIRANUMA Cabinet fell in August, and the succeeding two cabinets of ABE and YONAI amplified for the time non-interference with the European War. In this period, Japan extended her military action to invade Kuantung, captured Hainan Island, and turned to the southward advance, which was also checked by the resistance of China, and thus she erred in her invasion project into Britain and America. Such changes in the Japanese national policy meant the overall success of the Chinese national policy, as well as a focus on the failure of the continental policy of Japan. This is approved publicly by the intellectuals of the world.

III (From line 10th p. 95 to line 1st p. 96.)

As to the change of course and the inevitable results of the national policy and strategy of Japan stated above, not only did the people in general not know why, but also the Japanese military clique itself did not know what it was doing. What the Japanese military clique apparently thinks is, *they have an inexhaustible flow of ingenious strategem, by themselves is,*

crisis. Unfortunately, ten years after the completion of the northern expedition, the people in general have neither sincere worship nor unity towards the Three Peoples Principle, nor profound recognition towards the racial crisis. They confront the course of the national establishment by revolution with immeasurable obstacles, by which the national power was exhausted, and the people sacrificed, until at last foreign contempt was deepened day by day, and the nation was brought to jeopardy. However, during these periods, the central government, which did not, for even a single day, depart from its anti-contempt policy, bore the humiliation and devoted itself to the important duty of meeting the nation's difficulties..

Some of the people who were sceptical of the Three Peoples Principle in the old days also thought much of the racial interests, and tended towards unity, deserting foreign countries. This is sufficient to show that the nation at present understands the significance of co-existence and co-destruction, and recognizes that the interest of the race as a whole surpasses that of every individual and body."

II (From 4th line, p. 94 to 3rd line, p. 95.)

Despite the Chinese resolution of all-out resistance and resistance to the end was made clear to the world, the Japanese imperialists remained bigoted and stubborn as before, and did not abandon their planned conspiracy. The KONO Cabinet proclaimed its Non-extension Policy once and again, and attempted to attain the objective of speedy reconciliation and speedy solution by making use of the mediation of Germany, taking advantage of the opportunity when our capital was at stake. As soon as the National Government declined it, Japan, regarding the Wu-hang Battle as the end of military aggression, as its second step, attempted to put an end to the warfare by the offensive of peace and politics against China on the one hand, while on the other she could not help refraining from the impetus to advance to the north. Two incidents, the Chang-ku-feng and Nomonhan were so to speak, the wave-rings

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In reality, ~~it is mere~~ <sup>it is mere</sup> obstinacy and stubbornness. They think that they are in the position of initiative and are placing China under their complete control in this aggressive war against China, but the fact is not so. Their national policy as well as their tactics have always been checked by us since the beginning of the hostilities. Therefore, their operations and activities are fundamentally under our control, falling into passive positions everywhere, and they are marching on towards a natural collapse, following our tactical leading policy.